

NEW NATIONAL ERA.

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Rebel Forgery.

The rebel Democracy, alias the Reformers of South Carolina, have become desperate, and have abandoned all fair means for securing votes. Their reliance is solely on fraud and falsehood. They have just forged a *secret circular*, which found its way into all the rebel papers very mysteriously, which recommended to Republicans to murder some of the prominent colored Republicans, and then charge the crime to the Democrats! Of course this could deceive no intelligent colored man, but the knaves who invented it supposed it possible to deceive now and then a colored voter. The forgery was so thoroughly and promptly exposed, however, that they will fail even in this, and the infamous falsehood is reacting upon them. What will the scamps try next?

The Right Man at Last.

In the selection of Hon. OLIVER P. MORTON, of Indiana, as Minister to England, President GRANT has done a wise act. Senator MORTON is the right man in the right place, and in nominating a man of his positive character Gen. GRANT has indicated his desire for a bolder and more vigorous policy on the part of our Minister at St. James. Mr. MORTON is one of the very ablest men in the Senate, and there is no man whose presence will be so much missed. His services as Governor of Indiana during the rebellion will ever be gratefully remembered by the country. Since he has been in the Senate he has always been right. As a radical Republican, all his votes and speeches and influence have been on the side of liberty, justice, and humanity. His selection will be grateful to the Republican party, as a recognition and approval of the radical element of it.

The Legislature of Georgia has passed a law fixing December 20th, 21st, and 22nd next for electing members of Congress and the Legislature in that State. It is said that the act is well guarded, and has the approval of Attorney General Ackerman. Gov. Bullock holds his office two years longer.

Among the historical facts connected with Verdun, it is narrated that during the wars of the French Revolution fifteen girls of that town, all under fifteen years of age, were sent to the guillotine for having danced at a ball given by Prussian officers.

Amalgamation.

This subject, so manifestly important in its relations and bearings upon the permanent welfare of the American people, has heretofore received only the most shallow and imperfect discussion. The most that has been said upon it has been said only on one side, and in a spirit far other than candid, and far out of character with its inherent delicacy. It has been taken for granted that a mixed race is an inferior race, and that mixed society, especially of African and Caucasian races, is an unmitigated evil. All that popular prejudice and vulgar ridicule could do to keep these two races separate, distinct, and irreconcilable in their social relations has been done; but these, it must now be admitted even by its opponents, have but very imperfectly succeeded. In face of all opposition that pride of race could marshal against it, amalgamation has gone steadily on ever since the two races have been planted side by side in this country. Starting two hundred years ago with but two races, black and white, pure and simple, there have sprung up a mixed race varying all the way between the two extremes. It does not even appear that opposition (in the shape of laws and disabilities) has materially checked the growth of this intermediate race. In the Southern States, where the most stringent laws have been enacted to prevent marriages between the two races, the intermediate race has increased far more rapidly than where there were no laws against such marriages. Indeed, it may be fairly doubted if the lawmakers of the South, refusing the protection of law to marriage between white and black persons, have not encouraged rather than retarded the growth of this intermediate population. With marriage properly protected, and fathers made responsible for the name and support of their own children, the relations of the two races would, it may be assumed, have been far more reserved and thoughtful than they have been, and there probably would have been fewer mulattoes than there now are in that section. In the absence of law there has been unbridled passion on the one hand, and no power of resistance on the other. The matter incurred no penalty, and the woman lost no reputation, by adding to the number of this mixed population.

The United States are not singular in having such a people. Cuba, Mexico, South America, Brazil, and the British West Indies, indeed, wherever the two races have occupied the same country the same result has followed. All talk of "insuperable barriers," "mutual repugnances," "natural aversions," have been set at naught by the facts; and the conclusion is, that unless means of prevention more potent than any yet discovered, shall be interposed, or the two races are entirely separated, the people of mixed blood will continue to increase, both by their own natural force, and by the co-operation of the two varieties to which they owe their origin.

If this conclusion be well founded, and we see nothing controlling against it, the question of amalgamation is a question of vast proportions, and should be discussed in the most thorough and dispassionate manner. It is not a subject for rude jests, superficial reflections, or vulgar prejudices, but for calm investigation. It is a question for science, and for statesmanship. There should be, in those who undertake to discuss it, a love of truth so intense and all-pervading as to exclude all personal feeling of preference.

While slavery existed, it furnished a perpetual temptation to disparage the negro. His vices and muscles were property. He was forced out of his normal relation to his fellow men, and the apology for his degradation was to race. On that side, the side of the strongest, the popular side, the side of wealth, honor, and power, went fashion, literature, and religion, and something that called itself science, but was not, yet easily got itself recognized as science.

Looking at the negro as an article of property, and seeing him steeped in ignorance and stupidity, and overlooking the tendency of slavery to make and keep him thus destitute and degraded, the doctrine of the natural inferiority of the negro was easily accepted, and ferried beyond all question. If this assumption was contradicted by instances of ability belonging to the black race, they were ruled out as exceptions, and treated as only proving the general rule of negro inferiority.

Negro inferiority once established, our American ethnologists easily assumed that some element of that inferiority must necessarily appear in their children, even when they descend on one side from the superior or Caucasian race. Though this eager conclusion did not necessarily follow, and is logical in words rather than in substance, it has been allowed to pass comparatively unchallenged.

To us it seems that even granting, (though this need not be granted,) that in respect to some special quality, the one variety may be superior to the other, this does not exclude the possibility that their joint product may be superior, as a whole, to either of the opposite varieties from which it is derived.

But this question, as we have said, is one for science. If amalgamation is fraught with evil, if it infects upon the country a feeble, diseased, and vicious race, wholly inferior to either the black or the white race, all reasonable effort should be made to check and prevent the increase of this amalgamated class. If nature is against them, we should be.

But let us have facts. This is an age of statistics, and of averages, and of all manner of accurate and reliable methods of ascertaining the truth of things. Let us have the truth of this thing, so manifestly important to the repose of the public mind, not only of the people of mixed blood, but the people of all bloods. Being ourselves quite severely mixed, having in our veins the blood of Congoman, Indian, Saxon, and that of a mixed race beside, we have a four-fold interest in knowing the whole truth on the subject, especially what we may expect of this composite machine, in which we have been for sometime moving about the world, and which, considering the wear to which it has been subjected, is still in tolerable condition. We want to know how long it is likely to run, and what repairs we shall find it needful to make to keep pace with the white and black locomotives upon competing roads.

We are led to these remarks by an able letter (our outside) from Mr. PETER H. CLARK, of Cincinnati, to the Cincinnati *Gazette*.

This letter is worthy of the man and of the subject, and we bespeak for it a thoughtful perusal. We hope Mr. CLARK will continue his researches and follow up the discussion he has so well begun. Other gentlemen and scholars, of mixed blood and of blood unmixed, do service to the cause of truth and of civilization, by assisting in the scientific discussion of this vital question.

Gen. Butler made a speech at Gloucester, Mass., the other day, in which he declared that he had no desire to be elected to the United States Senate, and is satisfied with his position in the House.

The registration of colored voters in Maryland took place last week, and went off very harmoniously. It is said that no obstacles were thrown in the way by the rebel Democrats.

Eugenie.

It is anything but cheering to notice in our Republic, among certain classes, a growing tendency to pay homage to royalty, to flatter it and feel honored by contact with it. This homage certainly does not agree very well with clear republican views and firm republican convictions. It is, to be sure, one of the most disgusting circumstances that the tendency here complained of is not generally met with among the representatives of the real intellect of the country, but is rather to be found among the superficial fashionables—a class easily blinded by the glittering outside of aristocratic life, and as easily forgetful of their true dignity as free citizens. This empty-headed class—and we may also say empty-hearted—voluntarily or involuntarily ignores the misery, the oppression, and ignorance under which the masses sigh, those masses who, in fact, with their sweat and blood pay for all the luxuries enjoyed by the few. They furnish another illustration of the blindness of those travelers in the South who in former times were entertained under the roofs of slaveholders, and could find no words strong enough to describe the comfort, happiness, and contentment of the slaves. Mr. POTTER, bowing before NAPOLEON, was entirely outdone a few years ago, when this same fashionable class ridiculously and absurdly became ecstatic and rapturous over that limb of royalty, Prince of Wales, and later over his brother ARTHUR, two mortals as common as the commonest of the fast young men daily treading the pavement of our cities, and who, in point of intellect, rather fall below the average of the human species. But this spirit of sickening toadyism reached its climax in General ANDERSON, the celebrated defender of Sumter, a man no longer young, and one not to be classed as thoughtless, who yet, in order to make his way in fashionable society, went out of his way to congratulate the assassin PIERRE BONAPARTE on his acquittal, and thus virtually sanctioned one of the vilest homicides ever committed, and one which would have sent any poor man in that country either to the scaffold or to the galley. There is so much of this servility among us that we have very little doubt that even NAPOLEON, notorious and confirmed an offender against mankind as he is, would be overwhelmed with civilities were he to escape from his captors and come to our shores. One thing is certain, if EUGENIE should ever venture to spend a season in Saratoga, she would scarcely miss the servile flatteries of her court, or fail to be the recognized centre and leader of fashion. She would hardly be less at home among her admirers in Saratoga than in Paris.

But we have been speaking of a peculiar class of our people, a class whose frivolities and servilities are of very little importance in any respect. They might have been passed over in silence. The case, however, is different when we meet with the same spirit manifesting itself in a leading editorial of the New York *Tribune*, a paper to which, above all others, the American public are accustomed to look for trustworthy information with respect to European affairs, and which has been the most reliable guide to public opinion and sympathy in regard to the terrible war now convulsing Europe. But here is the tribune to the character thus accorded the *Tribune*:

"The truth must be told: we do not like that picture of EUGENIE on the backstairs. We are ready to cry *à la décharge*, with the loud Republican who yelled *vive l'Empereur* yesterday, so long as it includes only the Emperor; but let us be honest—when free ideas drove the Empress in a shabby cloak into a hackney coach across the quay they nauseated us. She is no Dagon. We remember at once that we are men, and she is a woman. More than that, a womanish woman. In these days when our wives and daughters have in turn each been 'a spirit yet a woman, too,' and a broker and promulgator of infinite truth into the bargain, what a relief our souls have received at the sight of the wife of NAPOLEON! Had happily off in the wife of NAPOLEON had a fair and womanly woman, and this rare plebeian Spanish girl, who bore the crown of CHARLEMAGNE with a royal grace such as no Bourbon ever lost to it."

All this is indeed very fine reading, and the only fault to be found with it is that it is inappropriate. In any just contemplation of the fallen Empress, except pleasant and graceful personal appearance, we see nothing particularly adapted to awaken admiration or sympathy. We know that during the last seventeen years she has had the doubtful honor of being the leader of fashion for the civilized world, and we think that in that relation she can hardly be defended from extravagance and love of luxury. But a fault, far more grave than this, is conspicuous, EUGENIE is a most zealous Catholic, and, as such, has always given whatever influence she possessed to the ultra mountians. She has been the enemy to all political, intellectual, and religious liberty. In the breadth and intensity of her hostility to liberty, in the strength of her prejudice, and the bitterness of her bigotry, she transcended even NAPOLEON, for, in regard to religion at least, though glorying in being the eldest son of the Church, he was entirely free from fanaticism, and whatever he did for religion, was unquestionably done from policy. In all the doings of this excellent Mrs. NAPOLEON it was never heard that she exercised any luminizing influence upon Mr. NAPOLEON. On the contrary, if all reports be true, she was warmly in favor of this most unnecessary and unjust war, and thus has no claims on the pity which we naturally bestow on a woman who loses a brilliant position in the world without any fault of her own, but through the crimes and follies of her husband. Neither can we perceive anything uncommonly noble in her attitude since the downfall of the Emperor. She simply left when the place became untenable, and her merit is only that of a person who leaves a burning house when the roof is about to tumble in. Her alleged denunciations of the Emperor as a miserable coward do not impress us as coming from a loving wife. The true woman follows the object of her devotion into exile and death without inquiring whether he is responsible for his own downfall or not. We confess that these denunciations of EUGENIE's better half a woman who married a man merely for the sake of position than one who married for love, and the assumption that Mrs. NAPOLEON is precisely such a woman is very well verified by her own words. NAPOLEON is not a very lovable specimen of the human race, and now, that he is divested of the attractions his position gave him, even this excellent wife of his turns against him. Now, we admit that there are women even of this stripe in the world, but we happen to be one of those men who like to see them held up neither as objects for respect, admiration nor sympathy.

It having been reported that Congressman Bowen, of South Carolina, was married to Mrs. Pettigrew King while a suit for divorce had instituted was still pending, he wrote to a friend that the charge is utterly false, and was originated by his malicious, personal and political enemies.

Enfranchisement of the Rebels in Missouri.

KANSAS CITY, Mo. Sept. 12, 1870.

To the Editor of the New National Era:

Permit an old subscriber to ask your opinion as to the course which colored men should take on the question at issue in Missouri at present, and which must be answered by the ballots of the voters of this State at the ensuing fall election.

The question is, Shall we vote for, or against, the political enfranchisement of the rebels? Taking into consideration the fact that such an amendment to the State constitution has been submitted to the people of Missouri by a Republican Legislature, and that a majority of that party will favor the resolution, there is considerable hesitancy on our part how to decide as to the wisest course of action. We know that to oppose the amendment we assume to ourselves an independent position in politics; that we fight the battle in a measure alone. Already in open antagonism with the Democracy, we risk being forsaken by at least two-thirds of the Republican party. And further, should the amendment carry in spite of our opposition, we place ourselves in a position to suffer the merciless hate and vengeance of an old-time enemy, made more bitter and relentless by the remembrance of our recent hostility to the removal of their political disabilities.

Now, what is policy in this matter? or, rather, what is consistent?

We submit the case to you, believing you fully competent to advise us on this point.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES D. BOWSER.

REMARKS.

In answer to our respected correspondent, we have not the least hesitation in saying that, according to our judgment and information, it is the plain duty of the colored voters of Missouri to vote for the suffrage amendment, and to do all they can to secure its adoption. This is not less the dictate of sound political wisdom than of genuine magnanimity; and the latter is as becoming to the colored voter, newly lifted into citizenship, as the former is imperative. Both reason and feeling are in favor of the adoption of the amendment. If our feelings went one way, and sound policy the other, we should restrain mere feeling and follow the voice of reason. Happily, in the present case, both reason and feeling concur in the same course.

There is now not the shadow of a reason for perpetuating the disfranchisement of the former rebels of Missouri. The very considerations which originally made disfranchisement wise and proper, now make it unwise and improper. The safety of the State required the measure at the beginning, and the same safety and welfare of the State now require its discontinuance. We have no complaint for the past. When liberty is in danger and good government is menaced, stringent measures are not only justifiable, but commendable. But such measures should cease as soon as the evil they are designed to remedy is removed. The rebellion is not more dead or more deeply buried in any State of the Union than in Missouri, nor is any State of the Union more thoroughly reconstructed and restored to the Union than is the State of Missouri. The disfranchisement of any class of her citizens is, therefore, wholly unnecessary. For obvious reasons her disfranchised classes will be less dangerous with the ballot than without the ballot, and especially so if they can trace their disfranchisement to the votes of colored citizens.

It may be said that the rebels deserve this deprivation; that they brought their disfranchisement upon themselves. What if they did? Have they not suffered enough? Punishment, to be respected, must have some foundation in necessity as well as justice, and must serve some beneficial end beyond that of giving pain to the offender. When these conditions are not complied with in any positive measure, its perpetuation awakens sympathy for the offender, more than respect for the law and the government by which it is inflicted.

It may be said that, these rebels are, at heart, rebels still, and this may in some cases be true. The human heart is a very dark and difficult place to explore. It often contains highly combustible and destructive matter, when to outward seeming it is most amiable and beautiful. This is the theory of the human heart, and yet mankind have generally decided to base their action upon facts, rather than upon theory—upon trust, rather than suspicion, and upon necessity, rather than feeling, and in this we think they are wise. It is well to assume that a majority of the disfranchised men of Missouri are now soundly loyal at heart, and that they will be equally so in practice; and that even if they were not, they are less dangerous to the peace and good order of the State, with the ballot than without it.

That State is ever the strongest and safest which contains the fewest persons and classes having cause of discontent with the State. Missouri is great and strong, and no doubt could stand her ground even if she should refuse all clericalty or concession to former political offenders, yet even she will be made stronger, happier, and more peaceful by the opposite course. Hers is a large, enlightened and rapidly increasing population. She has attracted to herself the most liberal classes of political thinkers from other States. Few of the old rebel and slaveholding classes have sought her borders for residence since the war, and many of those classes have left her since the war. She is strong, honest, and intelligent, and she can well afford to be magnanimous and conciliatory.

These words of the "NEW NATIONAL ERA" are addressed to all men in the State of Missouri—especially to colored men. We cannot, as colored men, afford to adopt any policy the tendency of which is to give us an isolated political position, or make us the special agents to reward the wrong-doing of the former rulers of the State. Our mission is to live in peace with all men, as far as we can do so consistently with our true manhood, and with the perfect preservation of our newly acquired liberty. That man is a political enemy, of whatever color he may be, who to-day counsels the colored voter to any course of political action which is likely to separate him from the Republican party. In that party the colored voter has power, and there we would advise him to stay. There is no safety outside of the ship. The Republican party in Missouri is not a malignant party, and will doubtless vote for the liberal policy proposed by a Republican Legislature, and we hope the colored voters of the State will not be an exception.

The Republican State Convention of Tennessee was held in Nashville last Thursday, and nominated W. H. Nesner, of Butler county, for Governor. His platform declares against secession, approves the policy of the Grant Administration, declares it to be one of the objects of the American Union to protect Congress in the exercise of civil and political rights, says the honor and credit of Tennessee must be sustained, favors thorough education of all classes, congratulates Germany upon the result of the war, while deploring its evils, and favors immigration and the enactment of laws to invite settlers to Tennessee. The convention was largely attended and enthusiastic.

The New York Democracy.

The Democratic party of the State of New York has long been a puzzle to people outside of the State, and to very many who are not outside of that State. To some people it appears to be a State organization controlled and directed by delegates duly elected from the different districts and wards of town and country, and thus properly reflecting the views and wishes of the masses that usually vote with the party. A closer inspection, however, discloses this error, and discloses the fact that the party is not in any just sense a State organization at all, and that it would seem to be but a New York City organization, controlled and managed in the interest of the Democratic politicians in the City of New York. Close investigation, however, does not allow to the party even so broad a basis as this. It is neither a State nor a city organization, but is owned, controlled, and operated by a secret association, known as the Tammany Society, whose headquarters are in Tammany Hall, New York. The power of this association is practically despotic. Composed of shrewd and experienced politicians, ever vigilant, active, and decided, conducting their counsels in secret, and selecting their agents with sagacity, wholly unscrupulous as to means, and their power being known to those who aspire to favor in the party, they manage the whole machinery of the party with comparative ease. They speak in the name of New York, and New York speaks in the name of Tammany; and New York and Tammany thus combined are of all-abounding authority in the county and State conventions of the party. Mostly by address, acquired by long drill, but sometimes by violence, they send their own delegates to the State nominating conventions, and by the same address or violence capture the organization and secure nominations according to their own views and wishes, and thus make the party their own property and use it for their own benefit.

The success of this secret political organization is a disgrace and scandal to free government. If the liberties of this country are ever subverted, and our free institutions shall become a delusion and a mockery, it will be largely due to the action of these selfish, unscrupulous, irresponsible secret political organizations. They are the dry rot upon our governmental superstructure. A secret society gets possession of the political power of a city, through the city it gets the power of the State, and through the State the power of the Nation, and thus a people may lose its liberty while lugging the delusion that they are free. They may, while thinking themselves masters, really be only the slaves of unseen masters, doing their bidding, sweating in their service, and contributing to their aggrandizement.

In just this condition is the Democratic party of the State of New York to-day. It is the party of an unscrupulous conclave pursuing its selfish ends in its own way, and the masses are its blind and unconscious instruments. Once in awhile a voice of feeble protest is lifted inside of the party; but the protest is soon silenced, disregarded, and forgotten, and Tammany and its schemes are triumphant.

The late Democratic convention in Rochester, New York, seems to have been of a similar character with all recent preceding ones. There were the same double delegations, and the same double-dealing in getting rid of them, and, as usual, the schemes of secrecy succeeded against open and fair dealing.

What effect the party quarrels will have upon the success of the party in the coming election may not be safely affirmed. The delegation rejected are evidently very indignant, and very much disgusted. They threaten to make their power felt at the ballot box and elsewhere, and their dissatisfaction may cost the party a considerable number of votes. But we have had the same threats, the same disgust, and the same indignation before, and the consequences have seldom been other than to confirm the leaders of the party in their villainy. As the canvass proceeds refrigerating processes will be found for over-heated indignation, and healing processes for divisions, and the party will probably stand a unit at the polls.

Bright Prospects Ahead.

The political skies never looked brighter than they do now. In spite of the frequent bolts by Republican free traders in so many Congressional districts, and in the State of Missouri, the Republicans bid fair to hold their own in Congress. And there is a reasonable prospect that they will redeem New York. And our divisions have been healed in Virginia and Georgia, leaving not much doubt of Republican victories in those two States. It rests solely with the Republican voters whether we carry them or not. We have enough of them in both States if they will put forth their full strength. We believe the Republicans in all the Northern States are thoroughly aroused to the importance of united, vigorous, untiring action. Can we expect as much from the Republicans of the South? We believe we can answer for our own people at all events; and we hardly think white Republicans will permit themselves to be outdone by them.

There can be no doubt that there has been a favorable change in public sentiment going on for several weeks, or if not a change of opinion, certainly a more just appreciation of their duty on the part of Republicans all over the country, and a more earnest determination to sustain our Republican administration. This favorable change, or this renewal of zeal and fidelity, has been brought about in a great measure by the evidence of honesty, economy, and justice that has been accumulating week after week for months past. The very able and clearly understood financial statements that Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury have caused to be prepared, and largely circulated, have begun to tell on the public mind. The people begin to see from these clear statements that the Administration is rapidly paying off the public debt, decreasing the public interest, cutting down the Government expenses, and increasing the collection of public revenue.

These statements prove that, aside from expenses growing out of the war, President GRANT'S administration has cost the people less yearly than JAMES BUCHANAN'S did. They see that he will have none but faithful, competent, and honest men in office, and that he is determined by all possible means to lessen their burdens. They are, therefore, resolved to sustain him. They now know that the taxes are vigorously and faithfully collected, and the money honestly and economically expended, and they will not give up this certainty for the terrible uncertainty of a Democratic administration. The ball is fairly started. Keep it rolling till the elections are all ended in grand Republican victories, and the rebel Democracy ground to dust!

The acting Commissioner of Internal Revenue authorizes the denial of the statement that the salaries on the official bond of Bailey, the defaulting Internal Revenue Collector of New York, will not be made to suffer. Bailey has been indicted by the Grand Jury on the charge of embezzling \$131,000 of Government money, and suit is brought against the sureties named in his bond to recover the amount of the Government loss. The case will be prosecuted to the extent of the law.

Democracy Illustrated.

By these fruits ye shall know them.—Democracy now as well as the sinners of old. And what have been the fruits of Democracy in the United States? Its horrible crimes have been often portrayed. But they can't be too often exposed to the gaze of the people. Indeed, there seems to be great danger that even those against whom this Democratic party, not only waged a four years, but a life long war, will forget the authors of their terrible wrongs. And if colored men, in five years forget their enemies and the enemies of their country, and vote to place unrepentant rebels in power, what may we not expect from ignorant white men who have no such wrongs as colored men to avenge?

We think all candid men will admit, in view of these facts, and the equally disgraceful, if not equally remarkable fact, that white Republicans in various parts of the country, are bolting their party nominations on the shallowest pretenses, that warning upon warning should be given to those who are thus trying to hand themselves and their party over to the tender mercies of the bloody-handed, false-hearted, and cruel rebel Democracy, bound hand and foot. We shall therefore continue illustrations of the character of the Democracy, by a constant reference to its acts. And there is no page in all its vile history, that will expose more clearly, or bear more continued repetitions than a record of its long and bloody struggle against the Union.

To exhibit in all its horrible enormity the character of the Democratic party in inaugurating so infamous a rebellion, we will remind our readers of the historical truth that at the time the slaveholding and slavery defending Democracy began this terrible civil war, the Government of the country was practically in their hands, as it had been for sixty years, with very brief intervals. Though a Republican President had been elected, the Supreme Court and both branches of Congress were against him, and the Republican party was, therefore, absolutely powerless. Both the Legislative and Judicial Departments of the Government were Democratic, for the Republicans had not a majority in the House, while the other branch of Congress was overwhelming against them. Mr. LINCOLN could not even have secured a cabinet unless with the "consent" of his political opponents. Slavery was as safe as it had been any time in sixty years. Not a law on that, nor indeed on any other subject, could the Republican party have passed if the Democratic Senators and Members had all stood at their post.

But they had been threatening secession for nearly thirty years, had been vigorously organizing for civil war for four years, and were all ready to raise the bloody flag of rebellion as soon as the result of the election of 1860 should be declared. They then at once plunged madly into the contest for disunion, sovereignty, and slavery.

And now let us count the cost of this Democratic civil war—a war inaugurated under a Democratic administration, encouraged by a Democratic President, actively aided by Democratic members of his Cabinet, begun by the Democratic leaders, and carried on by the Democratic party—a war in which every man who fought against the old flag was a Democrat, and a war in which every Republican in the Union was on the side of the Government.

To begin, then, this Democratic rebellion cost the nation a four years' war, more unjust, and cruel, and unnecessary than any in the history of the world, and in which a more brutal, revengeful, and barbarian spirit was exhibited by its authors than by any other people, either savage or civilized.

As it is, this four years' Democratic war cost us the lives of three hundred thousand as brave, patriotic, noble hearted, intelligent men as ever died in defense of their country.

This Democratic war has also made three hundred thousand equally brave, patriotic, noble hearted men cripples, and many of them pensioners for life.

It has made ten hundred thousand widows and orphans, depriving them of their natural protectors, and rendering them dependent upon the liberality of the people through the bounty of the Government.

It has cost the people four thousand millions of dollars, every cent rendered absolutely necessary to save the nation against this mighty Democratic conspiracy, and every cent of which, except what fell into the hands of disloyal Democratic speculators, was expended in enabling General GRANT to overthrow this Democratic rebellion.

This four years' Democratic war left upon the people a national debt of twenty-eight hundred millions of dollars. Not one cent of this debt would have existed had not the Democratic party, under a Democratic administration, headed by Democratic members of the Government, begun the rebellion without any cause, and for no other purpose than to establish a slaveholding confederacy.

It has caused, and is now causing, a yearly tax of three hundred millions of dollars upon the people to pay the interest on this Democratic national debt, the pensions to disabled soldiers, and to the widows and orphans of those who died in defense of their country.

This four years' Democratic war, in causing an enormous national debt, and in substituting a paper for a specie currency, has so inflated prices that the people can hardly buy more than two dollars than they could with one before the Democratic party brought upon us this enormous Democratic debt.

It has fastened a burden of taxation upon the people that for forty years will eat up, directly and indirectly, a tenth part of every man's earnings. And this tax is the inevitable result of a war begun by the Democratic party without the slightest justification—begun deliberately and wickedly, after counting all the cost and four years' careful, zealous, and systematic preparations.

But the terrible consequences of this war have not been confined to the loyal States. It has caused the most unutterable woe to the poor people of the South. As many of them were sacrificed in this war for slavery, as many were maimed in battle, and as many widows and orphans made as at the North, while infinitely more property was destroyed by the ravages of war. And yet the mass of the Southern people had nothing to gain and nothing to hope, even from the success of the rebellion. The war was begun and carried on by the Democratic party for the benefit of the privileged class of slaveholders, against the interest of the vast majority of the people.

This four years' Democratic war, begun and carried on, as the Vice President of the rebel government officially declared, to perpetuate and extend slavery, could have no other result than still further to degrade the poor white man and make him still more dependent upon a slaveholding aristocracy. This was its secondary object. The census of 1860 shows slave property then to be worth four thousand millions of dollars, and the land, &c., held by the slave owners to have been worth as much more. Besides owning all the material property of the South, the slaveholding oligarchy possessed absolutely the whole political power of the old slave States, and for sixty years had

substantially controlled the entire policy of the General Government, partly through the extra members of Congress their slaves gave them, but mainly through the base subservience of the Northern Democracy to their interest.

In 1860 the slave States contained about four millions of slaves and eight millions of whites; only three hundred and fifty thousand of the latter of whom were slaveholders, owning all the property, exercising and controlling the destinies of the white people as absolutely as that of their slaves. It was for the sole benefit of this small privileged